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1862–63; Musters (1871, p. 184; 1872, p. 204), not over 1,500 souls, about 1,400, in 1869–70; Berg (1875, p. 371), 200 [2,000–?] souls, in 1874; Lista (1879 a, p. 75), about 500 warriors, 2,000 to 3,000 souls, in 1878–79; Roncagli (1884, p. 768), 300 [warriors–?], in 1882; Spears (1895, p. 159), perhaps about 500 souls, in 1894, according to gaucho informants; Hatcher (1903, p. 262), doubtful if over 500 left, in 1896–99; Borgatello (1924, p. 134), at most 1,300 to 1,500 souls. Of the foregoing writers, probably Viedma, Muñiz, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Borgatello were best situated to learn the facts.

Detailed data on the *Tehuelche* are given by Reiher (1920, p. 115) as of 1913–14, for the *Tehuelche* then living on the reserve in Santa Cruz territory: 35 men, 40 women, 17 boys, 15 girls—of whom 4 were non-Indians, and about 50 of the rest were full-blooded *Tehuelche*. The present writer has not found it possible to obtain statistics on the number of *Tehuelche* surviving today (1943).

In 1829 the population had become reduced by one-half since the smallpox epidemic of 1809–12, according to D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2: 97). Borgatello (1924, pp. 135–136) attributed the modern decline in numbers to wars with the Whites, smallpox, and alcohol. Reiher (1920, p. 118) called attention to the widespread incidence of pulmonary diseases at the time (1913–14) among the reserve *Tehuelche*, and believed that change of diet, from meat and plant food, to meat, biscuit, and marmalade, had been largely responsible.

Before passing on to consideration of the *Puelche*, four minor groups of Indians found in Patagonia or adjacent thereto call for brief attention: *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, *Caucahue*, *Huilliche Serrano*, and *Poya*.

Ona and Alacaluf.—Falkner's *Yacana-cunnees* were described by him as tall people living on both sides of the Strait of Magellan, those on the south side being obliged to cross the Strait in order to communicate with the *Yacana* cacique, Tamu, Falkner's friend (Falkner, 1774, pp. 91–93, 111; discussion in Cooper, 1917, p. 86, cf. pp. 195–196). King (1839, 1: 104, 113) in 1827–28 saw a Fuegian [*Ona?*] Indian among the *Tehuelche* of Gregory Bay. Coan (1880, pp. 103, 127, 171), who spent about 2½ months with the *Tehuelche* in 1833–34, very definitely reported that one clan in southern Patagonia was largely made up of Indians from Tierra del Fuego and spoke a dialect different from that of the other *Tehuelche*. Gardiner (1852, pp. 21–24) found a number of Fuegians, apparently *Ona*, mixed with or residing among the southern *Tehuelche* (cf. also Gardiner and Hunt, 1852, pp. 31, 33, 35, 40). Spears (1895, p. 129) also stated that a considerable number of *Ona* had been found in Patagonia and were still there. Likewise, Spegazzini recorded (1884, pp. 233, 235, 237) the presence of Fuegians [*Ona?*] among the *Tehuelche*. It seems fairly clear, from these sources, particularly Falkner, Coan, Gardiner, and Spears, that an appreciable migration of *Ona* across the Strait of Magellan into *Tehuelche* territory occurred in the last couple of centuries.

Moreno (1879, p. 378) referred to the capture of *Alacaluf* women by the *Tehuelche;* Dumont d'Urville earlier (1842, 1: 51, 156, 265–266), of *Alacaluf* children. The *Huaicurú* mentioned by Cox (1863, p. 165)

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may also have been *Alacaluf;* the *Guaicaro* vocabulary gathered by Lista (1896, p. 41) from a *Guaicaro* medicine man living among the *Tehuelche* is *Alacalufan.*

Caucahue.—In the early Chilean chronicles from 1641 on, the tribal denomination *Caucahue* (*Caucau*, and other variants) occurs sporadically, as applied in the most confusing manner, sometimes to short or medium-statured Indians of the western coast archipelago, at other times to "gigantic" Indians of the mainland. (Cf. details in Cooper, 1917, passim.) Our most detailed account of the latter tall type is that of Pietas (1846, pp. 503–504). He described the *Caucahue*, one of whom he had seen, as "gigantic" in stature, living south of the *Chono*, between the Cordillera and the Golfo de los Evangelistas, and speaking a language unknown to any one in Chiloé. It is quite possible that these tall "*Caucahue*" were *Tehuelche*, but by no means certain. They were very expert in the use of a heavy throwing club. (Cf. also Morrell, 1832, pp. 100–101, on "*Caucau*" met by him in the Guaianeco Islands in 1923.)

Huilliche Serrano.—It is quite possible, too, that the *Huilliche Serrano* of the Chilean chroniclers were *Tehuelche*, or perhaps *Puelche*, to judge from their tall stature as compared with that of the *Araucanians* and from their geographical location. (Cf. original data assembled from sources by Latcham, 1929–30, 64: 218–220.) But our information upon the *Huilliche Serrano*, as upon the tall *Caucahue*, is too meager to justify any but the most tentative surmises as to their ethnic relationships.

Poya.—As regards the *Poya* (*Pouya*, *Pogya*) we are a little better off. (Cf. original source data assembled in: Latcham, 1929–30, 64: 220–223; more fully, *Vignati*, 1939 a; Fonck *in* Menendez, 1900, passim, and esp. p. 319, on "*Puelche*"=probably *Poya.*) They should not be confused with the *Araucanian*-speaking *Poyo* or *Payo.* (Cf. Cardiel, 1938, p. 141; E. Simpson, 1875, p. 104.) The *Poya* were described by three of our four chief sources as big bodied. They spoke a non-*Araucanian* tongue. They lived in the general region of Lake Nahuel-Huapí, to the south or southeast thereof. Cardiel (1938, p. 141) seems to class the *Poya* as a branch of the foot *Tehuelche.* The *Poya* made an intoxicating beverage from a wild fruit called by them muchi (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Menendez, 1900, p. 412); muchi is the *Tehuelche* name of the fruit of the *Duvaua dependens*, called huingan by the *Araucanians*, and eaten by the *Tehuelche* (Cox, 1863, p. 211). Vignati (1939 a, p. 237) has called attention to the custom of septum perforation, certainly unusual in these parts, attributed independently to the *Poya* by Florez de León (1898, p. 256) and to the early *Tehuelche* by Fletcher (Drake expedition, 1578: see Fletcher, 1854, p. 50). The

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SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

262 **Food.**—The chief foods of the *Tehuelche* were guanaco and ostrich meat, the latter being generally preferred as less lean. Armadillos, skunks, tuco tucos (*Ctenomys* sp.), and huemuls were also eaten (Roncagli, 1884, p. 771; Ibar Sierra, 1879, p. 54), but dogs were not (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:150). Grease, fat, and marrow were delicacies, as were also ostrich eggs. The later *Tehuelche*, ordinarily at least, avoided fish (Coan, 1880, p. 60; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:100; 4:101; Bourne, 1853, p. 147; Musters, 1871, p. 201; Ibar Sierra, 1879, pp. 54–55; Borgatello, 1924, p. 16), not, apparently, from magico-religious motives; but near the coast the early *Tehuelche* consumed fish and mollusks (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:40, 43, 45), the later *Tehuelche* some shellfish (Gervaise, *in* Dumont d'Urville, 1842, 1:278).

While meat was the basic diet, considerable quantities and varieties of plant food were eaten. By the early *Tehuelche* certain roots, "resembling parsnips," were eaten raw or cooked, and made into flour (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:50, 60, 78; Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:40, 43, 45); by the later *Tehuelche*, roots, roasted and made into flour; "wild potatoes," dug up from underground and eaten raw or cooked; seeds, "like mustard," ground between two stones; "a kind of spinach" and a few other plants; "wild dandelions"; barberries, wild currants, strawberries, piñoes (*Araucaria* sp.), apples (Juan de la Piedra [1779], 1837, 5:77; Coan, 1880, p. 119; Dumont d'Urville, 1842, 1:154–155, 279; Schmid, 1912, p. 24, with native names of six or seven roots and plants eaten; Musters, 1872, p. 199; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 238; Vignati, 1936, p. 598: cf. Spegazzini, 1884, p. 238; Outes, 1905, p. 253; and especially Vignati, 1936, p. 598, and 1941, for botanical identifications). The later *Tehuelche* chewed the gum which exuded from the incense bush (Musters, 1872, p. 199; Schmid, 1912, p. 28; Spears, 1895, p. 159: cf. details of [545] method of chewing in Hudson, 1926, pp. 125–126), as a pastime and dental cleanser. According to Vignati (1936, p. 602), some of them [276] chewed the leaves of *Chuquiraga avellanedae* "como excitante nervioso."

231 The *Tehuelche* practiced no agriculture at all, and the early [341] *Tehuelche* had no domesticated animals except the dog. They seem to have had at least two kinds of native dog, a larger long-haired one and a smaller one somewhat resembling the Scotch terrier (Cabrera, A., 1934, pp. 88–91; Spegazzini, 1884, pp. 232–233; Allen, 1920, pp. 476–478); a third kind, resembling the greyhound, was probably a cross between the Spanish galgo and the first of the above two (Cabrera, A., 1934, pp. 88–91). The smaller dogs were used mostly as pets, the larger ones in hunting.

231 **Horses.**—The horse was introduced after 1670, and before 1741, 177 probably some time around 1725, from the Argentine *Araucanians*,

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or perhaps, as D'Orbigny appears to have believed (1835–47, 2: 100), from the *Puelche*. Its introduction was accompanied and followed by very great changes in general *Tehuelche* culture (Cooper, 1925, pp. 408–409, details), including the addition of horse meat to the diet.

Hunting.—The early *Tehuelche* used tame young guanacos as decoys in hunting guanacos (Pigafetta, 1906, 1: 52; Mori, [1535], 1889, p. 320), and rhea plumage as head and body camouflage to approach within killing distance of rheas. Fletcher (1854, pp. 41–42) reported the use of nets in rhea hunting. Later *Tehuelche* hunters commonly scattered, circled, and closed in to hunt the guanaco and the rhea (pl. 40, *top*); in the drive, pumas were often caught in the circle and killed (pl. 40, *bottom*). The dogs were of great aid in hunting. Our sources mention no snares or deadfalls as used for any animals. (For details on hunting, cf. Schmid, 1860, pp. 363–364, 366, and Outes, 1928 d.)

Food preparation and storage.—Jerked guanaco meat, dried or smoked and pounded, was mixed with rhea or other grease to make pemmican, which was stored for use in winter or in stormy weather (Coan, 1880, p. 84). Fat, marrow, and internal organs of guanaco, such as livers, lungs, kidneys, and hearts, were commonly eaten raw; otherwise food was roasted or baked—later boiled in iron pots. Meat was often eaten only slightly roasted. Heated stones were put in split rhea, young guanaco, armadillo, and skunk carcasses, and the carcasses were then sewn up and placed on the fire to roast (Coan, 1880, p. 111; Moreno, 1879, p. 254). One end of the rhea egg was punctured, a little of the white taken out, and the egg set vertically on a slow fire to cook (Moreno, 1879, p. 359). Salt was mixed with blood, or used for seasoning meat. The blood of freshly killed guanaco was drunk raw (Coan, 1880, p. 119; Bourne, 1853, p. 71). A nonfermented drink was made of barberry juice. Maté, of later introduction, was very popular.

As food receptacles and eating utensils were used: Valves of mollusks as drinking cups, and, in one early instance (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 41) "skin," as among the *Ona* (p. 113); in later times, wooden plates and platters, bladders as water containers, wooden or horn spoons, and armadillo shells as broth platters. There were no stated mealtimes. The *Tehuelche* avoided gluttonous eating.

CAMPS AND SHELTERS

Permanent villages were lacking. Some use was made of caves as dwellings in parts of prehistoric Patagonia, perhaps by *Tehuelche*. A skin windbreak very like the modern *Ona* one (p. 110) was apparently used by some of the early *Tehuelche* (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 41, and lam. 1, fig. 1; cf. Ladrillero, 1880, p. 499, and Cooper, 1925, pp.

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Lista, 1879 b, p. 76; Roncagli, 1884, p. 776; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237.) Bloodletting was commonly resorted to. The resin of Schinus *Duvaua dependens*) was chewed for health purposes (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; cf. Pineda, 1914, p. 9). Guanaco bezoars were utilized for medicinal purposes (Musters, 1871, p. 126; King, 1839, 1:117, for bowel complaints). Like the *Puelche* and the *Araucanians*, the *Tehuelche* had numbers for "100" and "1,000" taken from *Quechua*.

POYA CULTURE

Most of our extremely fragmentary data on *Poya* culture are derived from Diego Florez de Léon (1898), Gerónimo Pietas (1846), Miguel de Olivares (1874), Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), and Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900). The main passages from the first four are reproduced in full and their anthropological content critically discussed and interpreted by Vignati (1939 a; cf. also Latchman, 1929–30, 64:220–222).

Subsistence activities.—Food consisted of animals, birds, and certain roots from which a flour was made; later, beef. The two earlier sources, Florez de León and Pietas, made no mention of agriculture; Olivares (1874, p. 511) stated that the *Poya* had "a little grain" [cultivated by them?]; Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900, p. 319), that the "Puelche" [probably *Poya*] of Lake Nahuel-huapí in 1792 had some quinoa, wheat, and barley, that they did not cultivate the ground, but that they used to throw seeds on the ground along streams and what came up was gathered by the first who came along.

Skin bags served as water containers. An alcoholic beverage was made of wild fruits.

Hunting and fighting weapons were the bow and arrow and bolas. Dogs were used in hunting. Horses and cattle were early introduced.

Shelters.—Tents were of skins.

Clothing and ornaments.—Clothing was made of guanaco, fox, and ostrich skins, and included a large mantle and a smaller pubic covering. One Indian, from inland, met by Florez de León, "had his nose pierced like the people of Perú" (1898, p. 256)—no doubt, with his septum pierced.

Transportation.—Inflated guanaco skins were used in crossing rivers on horseback.

Social and political life.—Not only polygyny, but also polyandry was permitted (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Vidaurre, 1889, p. 301); when one husband went away hunting, the other took his place. According to Olivares (1874, p. 512), sodomy was practiced; so, too, father-daughter incest (ibid.), though not approved by public opinion. Each band had its own headman, with persuasive rather than mandatory powers.

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Indians [of the Pampa] believe in two superior beings, the one good, the other evil." Soychu (see supra, p. 157) may have been a *Puelche* name for the deity or one of the deities (cf. Falkner, 1774, p. 114); Gualichu may also be a word of *Puelche* origin; Lehmann-Nitsche (1922, pp. 28, 33) considered that both words were from his *Het* tongue; but the point is quite uncertain. With the meager evidence we have, all that one can do is to present the foregoing facts and let the reader draw his own conclusions.

At full moon, there was excessive rejoicing, and the moon was asked for strength (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 65–66).

SHAMANISM

Here, too, it is impossible to say in how far as a rule the generalized statements in Sánchez Labrador and Falkner apply to the *Puelche*. Sánchez Labrador, however, does specifically (1936, p. 52) ascribe transvestite shamans to the *Puelche*—men who dressed like women, cooked and fetched water, and stayed with the women. Shamans were very much feared. They were called, according to D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:270), calmelache (a name very similar to the name camalasque, which Viedma [erroneously?] attributes to the evil spirit of the *Tehuelche;* see supra, p. 158).

MYTHOLOGY

Available data are excessively meager. Sun was the elder brother, Moon the younger brother; Moon was not so intelligent as Sun (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1919 a). There was a tradition of a very high tide (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1919 b) and also of a flood. After the flood which covered all the earth except the Sierra de la Ventana, the peoples came out of caves in the mountains and the world was populated again (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 66; cf. Vignati, 1938 b).

LORE AND LEARNING

Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 56) rather clearly implies that the *Puelche* used no herbal curatives. One can count up to 100,000 in the *Puelche* language, but all numbers from 99 up, including, of course "100" and "1,000," are from *Quechua*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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search of timber for building, in the course of which he reached the great lake at the foot of the Cordillera, from which flowed the Rio Santa Cruz. Both on the coast and in the interior he received much friendly aid from the Indians, of whom he formed a most favourable opinion. 175

Under his brother's auspices the Rio Negro was ascended as far as the mountains of Villarino, to whose expedition reference will be made in the proper place.

No further knowledge was gained of the interior of Patagonia until the survey of the Beagle, so ably performed and so admirably described by Fitzroy and Darwin; during which the ascent of the Santa Cruz River for 200 miles enabled the latter to observe the remarkable formations which he has so aptly described in his work on the Geology of South America.

This brief but perhaps tedious account has been given to show that although the coasts of Patagonia had been explored and surveyed, yet the interior of the country, though pierced by the expeditions of Viedma and Fitzroy, remained up to a late date still almost unknown. Its inhabitants, the Tehuelches, had been often communicated with, their stature noted, and their friendly disposition commended; but their real manners of life as they wandered through the country, and their relations with, or difference from, the Araucanian and Pampa Indians, had remained almost as much a mystery as they were in the last century. 114

During the last thirty years the Governments of Chili and of Buenos Ayres have shown themselves inclined to claim the possession of the coast, the former trying to advance from the Straits, and the latter from Patagones; and the natives have acknowledged the influence of either Govern 175 177

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175 ment as they happened to be in the northen or southern
177 parts respectively. Our missionaries also have not left the Patagonians without some efforts to instruct and evangelise them; and although these efforts have been necessarily limited to the coast, yet the fruits of Mr. Schmid's sojourn with the Tehuelches remain both in their friendly feelings and in the lasting record of the vocabulary of the Tsoneca language published by him. And the intercourse of these Indians with Argentines and Chilians, and more especially with English officers, sealers, and missionaries successively, all of whom have testified favourably to their character, has tended to make them more open to access, and to give them a knowledge of foreigners; so that in this respect I can feel that to all those who have been mentioned as having thus preceded me, this brief record is due from a traveller who has experienced the friendly feelings of the natives towards strangers, and especially Englishmen.

114 While engaged in preparing the ensuing pages for the press, I have had an opportunity of perusing the work of M. Guinnard, first published in French, and recently given to the English public in a spirited translation, entitled 'Three Years' Slavery among the Patagonians.' The name necessarily attracted me, but to my great surprise careful perusal led to the distinct conviction that the author's personal experiences were altogether confined to the Pampas Indians north of the Rio Negro. From his own statements and omissions it is quite evident that he was not carried by any of his successive masters across this river, which he clearly and accurately defines to be (page 40) the northern boundary of Patagonia. The name of Patagonians is, therefore, a complete misnomer; and the curious account (pp. 72, 73) of the

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of Guayana, and El Gran Paytiti of Brazil, the baseless fabrics of many a golden vision, are found repeated with change of place and circumstances in this city of Los Cesares. There is a curious combination of three distinct strands of legends in the chain which connects the marvellous stories of the Northern Indians and Chilotes with the accounts so circumstantially deposed to, and firmly believed by, the Spaniards of the last century. The first is the conquest of Los Cesares in 1539. Sebastian Cabot, from his settlement of Carcarañal on the Parana, sent his pilot Cesar with 120 soldiers to explore the river, 60 being left to garrison the fort;* this expedition proceeded as far as the junction of the Parana and Paraguay, which latter river they ascended to the Laguna Sta. Anna, on the way defeating the hostile Indians. They reached the boundaries of the Guaranis, with whom they made friendship and returned. They next set out to proceed overland to Peru, and crossed the Cordillera. After making their way against incredible difficulties, they reached a province, the inhabitants of which were rich in cattle, vicuñas, and gold and silver. The ruler of the province, 'a great lord,' at whose capital they at last arrived, received his Spanish visitors kindly, and entertained them with all honour, until at their own choice they were allowed to return enriched with presents of gold and precious stuffs. The Spaniards regained their fort on the Parana only to find it a deserted ruin; the Indians having surprised and massacred the garrison. Cesar thereupon led his party to the settlements, and thence started on another expedition, in which he again crossed the Cordillera, and from a height beheld, as he imagined, the waters of the Pacific and Atlantic on either hand, probably mistaking some large lagoon for the distant Atlantic. He then made his way up the coast to Atacama, and thence to Cuzco, at which city he joined the conquerors just at the period of the capture of the ill-fated Inca Atahuallpa.

* Fte. S. Espiritu.

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177 This marvellous traverse of all the country was spoken of
538 ever after as the conquest of Los Cesares, and the whole account was set forth by Ruy Diaz Guzman in 1612, whose authority was one of the Conquistadores of Peru, named Arzon, who had learned all the particulars from Don Cesar himself in Cuzco. It does not seem, however, that more than this name, and perhaps the tradition of the rich Indian city, were preserved in the romantic rumours that began to obtain currency in the seventeenth century, and continued to gain credit till 1781, when the Fiscal of Chili, having been charged to make inquiry, summed up in an elaborate state paper all the evidence in favour of the existence of a rich and strong city, situated somewhere between 45° and 56° south, and urged the Spanish Government to authorise an expedition to discover and take possession of it. The city was described by various veracious (?) authorities as 'defended by walls, ditches, and ravelins, the only entrance being protected by a drawbridge, besides which cautious sentries were always stationed on an adjoining hill to detect intrusive strangers. The buildings were sumptuously constructed, the houses being of wrought stone with azotea roofs; and the churches were covered with glittering roofs of silver, and gorgeously furnished within. Of silver, too, were all utensils, knives, and even ploughshares made; and the inhabitants used golden stools and seats. They were light-complexioned, with blue eyes and thick beards, and spoke a language unintelligible to both Spaniards and Indians. They wore jackets of blue cloth, yellow capes, and blue wadmal drawers and loose silk trousers, with large boots and small three-cornered hats! They possessed numerous cattle, marked with brands similar to those of the Spanish colonists; but their principal article of cultivation was pepper, in which they traded with their neighbours, maintaining withal a complete system of exclusive isolation.' By one account the population was composed of the descendants of the crews of several ships which had been wrecked in the Straits of

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Magellan from 1523 to 1539, the survivors of which had made their way overland and founded a settlement. A wandering padre was said to have received the news of its existence from some Indians, accompanied by a knife as a token, which was recognised as having belonged to the captain of a stranded vessel. The padre set out to discover his countrymen, but lost his life on the road. Another more precise tradition declared that the surviving inhabitants of Osorno, after having maintained a heroic defence against the Araucanians, under the victorious chief Caupolican, in 1589, made good their escape with their families and cattle to a peninsula in a great lagoon thirty miles long and seven or eight wide, situate near Reloncavi, or the volcano called Osorno, where they built a city strongly defended on the landward side by a fosse and drawbridge raised every night. This lagoon was by others said to be that of Payeque, near a rapid stream named Llanqueco. An explorer named Roxas, in 1714, who started from Buenos Ayres, and whose route lay south-west from Tandil and the Volcan, gives most precise distances and landmarks to define the position of the Cesares. He mentions especially a river with a ford only passable during one period of the year, and a hill on which is found much magnetic iron ore. These landmarks, and the rest of his description, point to the locale of that remarkable rock formation mentioned in page 105, which, seen from a distance, might well cheat a traveller into the belief that he beheld a fortified town. Wáki pointed it out to me, and said, jokingly, 'Perhaps Christians live there.' The 'Indians of veracity,' so frequently quoted in these accounts, who were, however, all bound to keep secret the access to the city, doubtless confused their recollections of different settlements visited in their migrations; and the Spaniards, prepared to receive any new wonder, wove into the marvellous tale all the stories told them, and regarded the joint fiction as undoubted fact. But two more remarkable phases of this legend, and then we return to practical Indian life. A military

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177 538 party, who set out in 1777 from Rio Bueno, and marched to Lake Llanquechue, crossed the passes of the Cordillera, under Osorno, and passed the night near the snow line. They heard distant artillery, and beheld the head of a great Laguna on the eastern side; they brought back the astounding intelligence that two distinct towns existed, one peopled by a race of Spanish origin, the Auca-Huincas, at war with the Tehuelches; and the other by Englishmen, or Moro-Huincas, who lived in amity with the Indians. And the Fiscal of Chili, in his report, insisted strongly on the necessity of rooting out these audacious islanders who had dared to plant themselves in the dominions of 'our Lord the King.' Just as the jealous fear of the encroaching English were thus mixed up in the Spanish version of the mysterious Cesares, so the Indians connected them with the traditionary glories of the great Inca race, and spoke of the Indian Cesares; and the potency of the fable was shown by a proclamation put forth by the heroic and ill-starred Tupac Amaru, who headed the unsuccessful rebellion against the tyrant Christians in 1781, styling himself 'Inca, Señor de los Cesares y Amazonas, con dominio en el Gran Paytiti.' But success mocked his grasp, and he perished by the hand of the executioner, just as the rich and coveted city whose lordship he claimed has eluded many an explorer who has sacrificed his life in the hopeless search. But the patient reader is probably weary of enchanted cities, and glad to return to the daily routine of our Indian life, though it was at this time 224 butcherly enough. It was the all-important season of young guanaco hunting; and though the chase afforded plenty of riding, it could hardly be said to offer sport; but to the Indians it was a matter of business, as their clothing and stock of skins to trade with depended on the number of young guanaco killed at this time. Some notes of the habits 136 of the guanaco and rhea, or ostrich, which furnish the Patagonian Indians with food and clothing, may not be out of place, though all critics are warned that they are not those

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Indians have a good deal of regard for personal cleanliness, and besides the morning ablutions enjoy bathing when encamped near a river, swimming and diving for hours together. They also are scrupulously careful as to the cleanliness of their toldos and utensils, and will, if they can obtain soap, wash up everything they may be possessed of. Notwithstanding these precautions, they are very much afflicted by vermin, which effect a firm lodgment in the wool of their mantles. This may be attributed to their mode of life, and their food, as well as to the materials of their clothing; and any traveller who wishes to sojourn with the Indians must make up his mind to subject himself to these inflictions, to which, however (*experto crede*), he will soon become inured. Their method of hunting and of cooking the meat obtained by the chase has been fully described in a previous chapter. Among the arms and implements figured in the illustration will be found (figs. 9 and 10) the weapons chiefly employed in the pursuit of game, namely, the bolas fitted with two balls called 'chumè,' for capturing the ostrich, and those with three called 'yachiko,' for guanaco hunting, which are similar to those used by the Gauchos in the Argentine Provinces. The balls are generally of stone, but sometimes white metal or copper balls are employed, procured in the settlements, which require no covering, and are more and more coming into fashion of late years; iron balls also, or iron ore, obtained and hammered into the requisite shape by the Tehuelches themselves, are common; these are for the round striking ball or balls: but the oval-shaped hand-ball, which is grasped in the hand, and is necessarily lighter by at least one-third than the other, is generally made of the soft vesicular lava which abounds in so many districts. The tough light thong for swinging balls round the head is generally made, as previously described, of ostrich or guanaco sinews plaited in four plaits, the length of which should be between seven and eight feet. It is always best to ball a quarry when galloping in an exact

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784 them never to mention the name of, and to avoid all allusion to, the deceased, their idea being that the dead should be utterly forgotten, though they will add a stone in passing to the cairn of a distinguished chief or hero. The death of a 766 child is marked by a display of sincere grief on the part of the parents. The horse it has been accustomed to travel on during the march is brought up, the gear placed on it, even to the cradle, and the horse, thus fully caparisoned, is strangled by means of lazos, whereas in all other ceremonies where horses are killed they are knocked on the head with bolas. The saddle-gear, cradle, and all belonging to the child are burned, the women crying and singing. The parents moreover throw their own valuables into the fire to express their grief. These things some of the women who cry are allowed to snatch out, as a recompense for their services, but they seldom benefit much. On the occasion of the death of an only child of rich parents, fourteen horses and mares were slaughtered, in addition to the one it had been accustomed to travel on. Towards evening of the day of the event, previous to the burial of the corpse, a select party of old women marched in procession round and round the camp, crying and wailing. Gifts were also sent to the [431] bereaved parents by the chiefs and relations, as a well-meant effort to divert their minds from dwelling on their loss.

771 The religion of the Tehuelches is distinguished from that of the Pampas and Araucanians by an absence of any trace of sun-worship, although the new moon is saluted, the respectful gesture being accompanied by some low muttered words which I never could manage to hear. They believe in 776 a good and great Spirit, who according to the tradition 177 related by Casimiro at the place, created the Indians and animals, and dispersed them from 'God's-hill,' as he explained the Indian name of the down (page 93). I am not at all certain that this was not a confused combination of the story of the Creation, as told by the missionaries, with his own ideas. There is a great tendency in the Indian mind

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thus to combine the marvels told them, or even to cap what they consider one legend with another; but there is no doubt that they do believe in a good Spirit, though they think he lives 'careless of mankind.' They have no idols or objects of worship, nor—if a year's experience can enable one to judge—do they observe any periodical religious festival, on which either the good or evil Spirit is adored. The mention of this by other travellers can only be explained by confused accounts which have attributed Araucanian customs to the totally distinct Patagonians. The belief which prompts all their religious acts is that in the existence of many active and malicious evil spirits or demons, of whom the principal one is always on the watch to cause mischief. To propitiate or drive away this spirit is the function of the wizard, or doctor, or medicine man, who combines the medical and magical arts, though not possessed of an exclusive faculty for either. All sacrifices of mares and horses, not at stated times, but as occasion requires, such as a birth, death, &c., are intended to propitiate the Gualichu. When a child hurts itself, the slaughter of mares seems to partake at once of the nature of a thank-offering that the hurt was no worse, and a propitiation to avert further harm.

In camp the Gualichu takes up his position outside the back of the toldo, watching for an opportunity to molest the inmates, and is supposed to be kept quiet by the spells of the doctor, who is not only gifted with the power of laying the devil, but can even detect him by sight. I inquired of one of the doctors what he was like, but received an evasive answer; on which I informed him that my devil took all sorts of shapes—sometimes appearing as a guanaco, ostrich, puma, skunk, or vulture, at which the medical man was intensely amused. This household devil is, as far as I could ascertain, supposed to enter into the different parts of the bodies of people, and cause sickness which the doctor is appealed to to cure. The treatment in the case of headache, for instance, is very simple: the doctor takes the patient's head

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We remained some days in Diplaik, during which several races were run, resulting on this occasion in favour of the horses of the Araucanians, who won many horses and mares from their neighbours.

The international sports were diversified by a cock fight between Orkeke's bird, and one belonging to an Araucanian. My assistance was requested to sharpen the spurs, and my friends were much astonished at my indignant refusal to have anything to do with such a proceeding. The Araucanian owner of the cock had also a hen which, during the march, sat upon a clutch of eggs and successfully reared her brood of six chickens, the hen, nest, and all being carefully transported on horseback, and Dame Partlet seeming quite as much at home in the saddle as any Indian mother with her nursling carried in the cradle behind her.

In the dry lagoons on the western side of the valley the women, and indeed sometimes the men, were frequently engaged in grubbing up an edible root which grew in large quantities. The leaf of the plant is very minute, and the root, which is found about a foot below the surface, varies in length from one to three inches: it is quite white, and about a quarter of an inch in diameter; when raw its taste resembles that of a chestnut, but is rather sweeter. The Indians boil it and drink the water, which is very sweet. During the last two days of our stay we subsisted entirely on this food and fish caught in the stream, as meat was not obtainable. Some of the Tehuelches were here induced for the first time to taste the fish on which Casimiro, Meña, and myself were regaling, and some of them took a great liking to it, and borrowing my lines and hooks were soon sitting on the bank waiting patiently for a bite. They caught several, and towards evening returned with my lines and a share of the fish for us, which we did not require. As I had plenty of hooks, these ingenious savages soon made lines for themselves out of twisted ostrich sinews, and may, for all I know, at the present time be occupied in fishing. The fact that none of these

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T 262 226 177 Tehuelches would before this touch the fish caught by me, and even expressed great disgust at the idea, is worthy of note, as it has been stated that on the coast they catch and eat sea fish, which could only be alleged by persons ignorant of their real habits of life.*

T 133 On the 12th we marched; the cause of our detention for the two extra days being the continued sickness of Crimé, who, however, at length determined to make an effort and proceed, although barely able to sit on his horse. The women followed, more or less, the valley of the river, whilst the hunters ranged over the hills, which on the western side were in most parts free from rock and stones and abounded with ostriches. During the journey I came suddenly on two T [34] wild cats, one of which my dog attacked and killed, and the other fell a victim to my bolas. These were of the species common in the provinces of La Plata, and especially in the islands of the Parana. Towards evening we came on another small stream flowing into the main river, into the plain of which we subsequently descended and found the toldos A 608 already pitched, literally 'sub tegmine fagi.' During this day's ride, happening to be in the same part of the circle as the Araucanians, we cooked our dinners in company and rode home together. On the way Quintuhual's eldest son, with whom I had always had very friendly relations, said that he desired to recognise me as his brother. So we accordingly joined hands, and riding together formally declared that we were as brothers, and would always remember the duties of our relationship and assist each other, if needs be, in whatever part of the world we might be placed. All this was very satisfactory, and it may be interesting to the reader to know that my sisters and cousins were the good-looking girls who had asked such curious questions at Esgel, and with whom, though we could not understand each other's language, I had always kept up a laughing acquaintance, thereby arousing considerable jealousy in the bosoms of my Tehuelche friends.

* Cf. Guinnard, 'Three Years' Slavery,' p. 73.

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574 After a little delay I was ushered into the Sala, where the two wives of the chief were sitting sewing. The usual maté was served, and I waited long in vain for the chief, who was away collecting his followers for an intended pursuit of some of Calfcura's Indians, who had recently driven off cattle from the valley.

177 At last I bade good-night to my fair hostesses, and summoning my companion, who had been taking maté in the kitchen, set out to return. We had scarcely proceeded a hundred yards, when the tramp of approaching horsemen was heard, and my companion enjoined strict silence, for fear of 'accidents,' and reined up our steeds under the shadow of some trees till we heard the people pass. When their voices had died away in the distance, we proceeded, and resumed our conversation, in the course of which he informed me that it was unsafe to meet people at night in this vicinity unless when well armed. I rather opened my eyes at this, and moralised considerably on the benefits conferred by civilisation on Indian races. At Chalcupe's toldo I found Antonio
574 Linares, brother of the chief, who had brought with him a bottle of brandy, over a glass of which I told him my business, which he promised to forward, and after a nightcap he left in search of more boon-companions. This young fellow
[291] was very well dressed in cloth poncho and chiripas, leather boots and clean linen, and wore a revolver in his belt. He playfully informed me that he had been in search of some one he had quarrelled with all the afternoon, and would have shot him if he had found him.

574 Mrs. Chalcupe made me up a luxurious bed with ponchos and my own saddle gear, and indeed all the inmates of the toldo showed me the greatest civility.

577 At an early hour in the morning I started on my new jaded horse in the hopes of seeing Linares, but on arriving at his house was informed that he had already left for Carmen, to have an interview with the Commandante, Señor Murga.

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726 and captives, the Indians will at all times fight desperately, regardless of odds, and show little or no fear of death; and the survivors will never leave their wounded or killed on the field. The Indians in the service of the Government, numbering about fifty lances, and residing chiefly on the south side, are commanded by a man named Linares, previously mentioned as living at San Xavier; he receives the pay and rations of an officer in the army, of what rank I do not know, and all his men regularly receive pay and rations. These are supposed to act as gendarmerie; but although Linares and his four brothers are probably to be depended on, I doubt very much if the rank and file could be trusted to remain true to their colours in the event of a united raid taking place, such as that organized by Lemquinco.

777 They have all acquired, by their lengthened residence in the neighbourhood of bad characters, a rowdy, swaggering disposition not generally, according to my experience, common amongst uncivilized Indians; and frequent losses of cattle occur to people settled on the south side, no doubt attributable to these dubious allies and defenders.

877 Between San André and Carmen the winding course of the river twice approaches and recedes from the barrancas, forming two successive wide alluvial plains, partly settled and partly in natural pasture, in one of which a mill turned by water-power was at this time in course of erection, the existing corn-mills being cumbrous, old-fashioned affairs worked by horses.

The barrancas then abuts on the river, except in one place, where there is a farm and wharf used for loading salt, forming a cliff close to the river bank as far as Carmen. Above this farm and wharf an old fort, apparently untenanted, and armed with one gun, is situated; and away to the north-east, in an indentation in the plain, lies a large saline from which the salt is extracted.

From the immediate neighbourhood of this fort a fine view of the valley below presented itself: right in front, on

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horse they can catch; whilst the girls play at making miniature 257
bibbs, and sitting in them.

The Indians evince great affection for their children, in- 261
dulging them in every way, and never chastising them for freaks
or acts of mischief. They are inveterate gamblers, manufactur- 525
ing their own cards out of hide, and will sometimes remain two
or three days without food, as it is unlucky to eat whilst play-
ing, cheerful in games of chance, on which they stake all their
possessions. The men, also, when opportunity offers, race their
horses, winning and losing heavy stakes on the result; but I am
bound to say that foul play is unknown, and all debts of honour
are scrupulously paid on the spot. They also play a game with 524
stones resembling the "knucklestone" of English school-boys,
and a game of ball, played by eight players, four on each side, 526
within a ring marked by a lasso laid on the ground: two balls
are used, made of hide stuffed with feathers; the player throws
the ball up from under the thigh, and strikes it with his hand
at the adversary, each hit counting a point.

They are dependent for food almost entirely on the chase; the 262
statements that they eat raw meat have probably arisen from
their custom of sometimes eating the heart, marrow, liver, blood,
and kidneys, raw. The meat is invariably cooked, that of the 252
ostrich being preferred. The most usual method of cooking on
the hunting ground is to prepare the bird so as to form a bag,
stuffing the meat with hot stones, which is placed on the em-
bers, the broth being thus retained. In camps, they also roast
the meat on spits, or sometimes boil it. The iron pots are, how-
ever, more generally used for frying out the grease or marrow.
Their occasional vegetable diet consists of the roots of a species 262
of wild potato, found, however, only in a few localities, a de-
scription of spinach, and a few other plants, when procurable.
They also eat the leaves of the dandelion, which is frequently
met with in the grassy valleys; and wild currants, strawberries, [263]
apples, and pillaums, when in the parts where they abound. In
fish, they readily eat any fish or vegetable products obtain-
able; and are great consumers of salt, obtained in sufficient [263]
quantity from various salines. They occasionally chew a species
of gum which exudes from the lomatobush; this, however, is
intended as a dentifrice. Intercourse with settlements has taught 273
the Tehuelches the use of tobacco, sugar, maize, and rum; some 276
of which, however, are looked upon as indispensable, with the
exception of tobacco, which is always prepared for smoking by 277
a mixture of chips of wood: many of them, however, neither
smoke nor drink.

On the birth of a child, if the parents are rich, i.e. own plenty 852
of mares, horses, and other ornaments, notice is immediately